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#### IV.—THE ΜΑΣΤΡΟΙ AT RHODES.

In several Rhodian inscriptions mention is made of a board of officers called *μαστροί*, and from these inscriptions our chief information in regard to them must be derived. It may, however, be well first to collect what information is to be derived from other sources.

In the great inscription from Andania<sup>1</sup> relating to the mysteries in the section *περὶ τῶν διαφόρων*, line 51 we read *καὶ ἀριθμησάντω παραχρῆμα τῷ ταμίᾳ, καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑπόμαστροι, ἃν τι εὕρισκωνται ἀδικούντες, διπλασίου καὶ ἐπιτιμίου [δραχ]μῶν χ[ι.]λιῶν, καὶ οἱ δικαστ[αὶ μ.] ἡ ἀφαιρούντω μηθέν* and again, line 60 *καὶ ἀποδόντω γραφὰν τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ περὶ ὧν κα διοικῶσιν, καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑπόμαστροι, ἃν τι ἀδικῶσιν, καθὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται*. In both these cases *ὑπόμαστρος* is nearly equivalent to *ὑπόδικος*, which occurs in the section headed *ἀδικημάτων*, line 80 *ἂν δὲ μὴ ἐκτίνει παραχρῆμα, παραδύτω ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκέταν τῷ ἀδικηθέντι εἰς ἀπεργασίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑπόδικος ἔστω ποτὶ διπλοῦν*, except that in the first two cases the judgment seems to have rested entirely with the *μαστροί*, while in the last case, that of an *ἀδίκημα*, the regular courts had authority. Some such distinction seems to be referred to by the words above cited, *καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ ἀφαιρούντω μηθέν*.

*Μαστροί* are mentioned also in a decree of the city of Delphi<sup>2</sup> regulating the employment of a sum of money presented to the city by Attalos II to be used for the payment of teachers' salaries and for the maintenance of certain sacrifices. It is decreed that this money shall be sacred to the god, and shall be used only for the purposes stated (l. 17 sqq.) Then follow (l. 20 sqq.) the words *εἰ δὲ τις τούτων τι ποιῆσαι ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτας κατάμαστρος ἔστω ἱερῶν χρημάτων φορᾶς καὶ οἱ μαστροὶ καταγραφόντω κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ψαφισθέν κ τ. λ.* Here, as at Andania, the *μαστροί* are evidently a board having jurisdiction over offences, or at least some offences, coming under the general head of sacrilege, inasmuch as the money in question is consecrated to the god.

Some information is also supplied by Harpocration s. v. *μαστῆρες* \* *Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πάγκαλον. ἔοικεν ἀρχὴ τις εἶναι ἀποδεδειγμένη*

<sup>1</sup> Lebas-Foucart, II, p. 162 n. 326a, Cauer delectus, Ed. II, n. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, V, p. 157.

ἐπὶ τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς οἱ ζητηταὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πελλήνῃ μαστροί, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Πελληνέων πολιτείᾳ. Whether the ζητηταὶ at Athens were a permanent board or not, is somewhat doubtful. A board of ζητηταὶ was constituted to investigate the mutilation of the Hermae,<sup>1</sup> and on certain other occasions.<sup>2</sup> Of the μαστροί at Pellene nothing further is known.

From the words of Hesychius μαστρίαι· αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἵθυναι it appears that the μαστροί had somewhere the direction of investigations into the conduct of officers of state and the auditing of their accounts. Indeed, one is tempted to apply this to Rhodes when one reads *s. v.* μάστροι· παρὰ Ῥοδίοις βουλευτήρες. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to justify us in so doing, and the second definition of Hesychius just cited appears to contain some corruption or mistake, for the senate of Rhodes is uniformly called βουλή, and it is highly improbable that the members of the βουλή should have been called μαστροί. Βουλευτήρες, however, can be nothing else than βουλευταί, *i. e.* members of the βουλή.

In the year 406 B. C. the Rhodians, who had up to that time inhabited the three cities of Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus, united in founding the new city of Rhodes,<sup>3</sup> and after this time the three older cities cease to figure as independent communities. They preserved, however, a certain degree of individuality, and published decrees, a number of which have been preserved. It is in these decrees that the μαστροί are mentioned. The headings of four such decrees seem to me to be instructive. They are as follows:

*\*Ἐδοξε μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις· ἐπιστατῶν γνώμα·*<sup>4</sup>

*Καὶ μαστροὶ καὶ Λίνδιοι·*<sup>5</sup>

*\*Ἐδοξε τοῖς μαστροῖς καὶ Ἰαλυσίοις[ς·*<sup>6</sup>

*\*Ἐδοξε μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις· ἐπιστατῶν [γνώμα·*<sup>7</sup>

In all these cases "the μαστροί precede the name of the people who enact the decree, occupying the place usually assigned to the βουλή in Greek decrees."<sup>8</sup> The usual formula for the headings of Greek decrees is *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*, and if in the instances

<sup>1</sup> Andoc. de mysteriis 14, 36; 40, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. 696, 9; 703, 11. Cf. Lysias, Or. 21, §16.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XIII 75.

<sup>4</sup> Ross, Hellenica, p. 114, n. 47, vs. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, Rhein. Mus. 1846, p. 196 (Arch. Aufs. II, p. 615, n. 26), vs. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Newton, Ancient Greek Inscr. in the Brit. Mus. II 349, vs. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Newton, Ancient Greek Inscr. in the Brit. Mus. II 357, vs. 1. Cf. also vs. 42 sq. *δεδοχθαι τοῖς μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις*.

<sup>8</sup> Newton, Anc. Gr. Inscr. in Brit. M. II ad n. 351, p. 126.

above cited we read *δήμῳ* for *Λινδίοις* or *Ἰαλυσίοις* we should have the usual formula with the *μαστροὶ* substituted for the *βουλή*. But the use of the name of a people instead of *δῆμος* is, to say the least, very remarkable. If we wish to say "the senate (or *μαστροί*) and people of the Lindians (or Ialysians)" we must say, not *μαστροὶ καὶ Λινδιοὶ* (*Ἰαλυσιοὶ*), but *Λινδίων* (*Ἰαλυσίων*) *μαστροὶ καὶ δᾶμος*. The particle *καὶ* regularly interposed between the *μαστροί*, and the name of the people joined with them in issuing the decree, shows that the *μαστροὶ* are one thing, and the Lindians or Ialysians another. The Lindians, Ialysians and Camireans were not independent peoples with fully developed political constitutions, but mere parts of the whole people of Rhodes (*ὁ σύμπας δᾶμος*, Ross, Rhein. Mus. 1846, p. 194, vs. 7). For the regulation of their local affairs, or at least of local affairs pertaining to the gods and their temples, these divisions of the Rhodian people were not subdivided into senates and popular assemblies, but acted as units, and with them were associated a board of *μαστροί* appointed or elected by the entire people. This is the only hypothesis which satisfactorily explains the peculiar headings of their decrees. It might seem, however, from one inscription,<sup>1</sup> that the *μαστροί* were elected by the *κτοῖναι*, which were subdivisions of the population or territory of the Rhodian towns. The inscription in question contains a decree of the Camireans ordering that their *κτοῖναι* be inscribed on a marble stelè and set up in the Hieron of Athena. The manner in which this shall be done is described, after which the decree goes on (l. 13) *ἐγ δὲ ταυτῶν τῶν κτοινῶν ἀποδεικνύειν τοὺς κτοινάτας μαστροὺν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἐν τῇ κτοίνᾳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων, τοῦτοι δὲ συνλεγέσθων ἐν Καμίρῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθαναίας ὅκκα τοὶ ἱεροποιοὶ παραγέ[ν]ωντι καὶ ἀθρεόντω τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Καμιρέων [τὰ δαμο] τελῇ. The last word seems to me tolerably certain, though Mr. Newton prints it with a question mark. Exactly what the *κτοῖναι* were, is uncertain. M. Martha<sup>2</sup> compares them with the Attic demes. At any rate, they were small territorial divisions. The members of these *κτοῖναι* are to appoint a *μαστρος*, apparently one from each *κτοῖνα*, who are to inspect the sacred rites of the Camireans.<sup>3</sup> But the expression *ἀποδεικνύειν μαστρον* may very well refer to appointing some one of an already organized board to undertake these duties, and does not oblige us to suppose that the *μαστροί* were previously elected*

<sup>1</sup> Anc. Gr. Inscr. in Brit. Mus. II 351, with Newton's commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hell. IV, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Newton, *l. c.* p. 126, who very properly refers *τοῦτοι* to the *μαστροί*.

by the *κτοῖναι*, or were special officers of the several towns rather than of the whole state. We find the *μαστοροί* here in conjunction with the *ἱεροποιοί* engaged in business connected with sacred rites, which is quite in accordance with what we have found to be their office in other places. The same is the case wherever the *μαστοροί* are mentioned in Rhodian inscriptions<sup>1</sup> as far as can be determined. In one inscription<sup>2</sup> the *μαστοροί* and the Lindians confer a crown upon a public official for *piety toward the goddess* and goodwill toward the Lindians; in another the *γραμματεὺς μαστρῶν*<sup>3</sup> has formerly been priest of Athena Lindia, Zeus Polieus and Artemis Kekoia. From the fact that a person who had formerly held such priestly offices became clerk of the *μαστοροί*, we may infer that the *μαστοροί* were religious functionaries, and also, perhaps, that the office of clerk was one of some importance.

Before leaving the subject of Rhodian inscriptions, I venture to propose what seems to me a correction of Mr. Newton's reading of the first line of the inscription published by him in the *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, II, No. 343. The beginning of the inscription is broken away, leaving a space sufficient for six letters. Mr. Newton proposes to read *Ἐπὶ ναυ[άρχου Νικομήδους]*. Now the Nauarch is nowhere found as eponymous magistrate at Rhodes, and Mr. Newton defends this reading by calling attention to the fact that the inscription deals throughout with naval affairs. But is that a sufficient reason for employing the Nauarch as eponymus? Elsewhere the eponymus is without exception the priest (of Apollo), and the inscriptions are dated, if at all, *ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ δέϊνος*, except that sometimes they are dated (as are for instance several of the pieces of Rhodian pottery published by *Νέροντος* in the *Ἀθήναιον*, III (1874, pp. 213-245), for the sake of brevity simply *ἐπὶ τοῦ δέϊνος*. Is that not the case here? If so, we should complete the first word to form a proper name, as for instance *Ἐπὶ Νικ[άρχου]*, and consider *Νικομήδους* the name of the father of the eponymus.

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<sup>1</sup> To those already cited may be added Ross, *Inscript. Ined.* 271, *Rhein. Mus.* 1846, p. 182 (= Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* II 604), and *Anc. Inscr. in Brit. Mus.* II 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* 1846, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* 1846, p. 182. Also mentioned *Anct. Inscr. in Brit. Mus.* II 353, l. 8; Ross, *Hellenika*, p. 115 C, l. 7.